

PEACE NEWS

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TOWARD A CONSTRUCTIVE
PEACE - 5

A New Order for Europe

by F. L. JOSEPHY

Chairman of the Directors of
Federal Union and prospective
Liberal Parliamentary candidate
for Devizes.

WHAT is to be the future of Europe? As a hotch-potch of small, independent, indefensible, completely sovereign national States is she forever to be the breeding-ground of world war, or will her peoples be far-sighted enough to realize that their only security in a world of giants is common security?

The world, according to Dumbarton Oaks and the Crimea, does not look like being a very good place for small nations to live in. As at present contemplated they will have no effective say in world affairs, and their freedom from war will depend on the good behaviour of the Great Powers who are putting themselves above the law they decree for the smaller fry. Obviously small States cannot expect to be put on an equal footing with continent-wide countries like the United States and the Soviet Union, but they could take an equal place if grouped under some regional arrangement. By the Act of Chapultepec just signed the States of Latin America are well on the way to a position where they can claim joint representation on the Security Council. The Arab States, if they federate, can do likewise. Are the States of Europe alone to speak with weak because separate voices?

THE crying need of the world is for lasting peace. Europe is the starting-point of war. What is needed in Europe to enable her peoples to live together without fighting? First, common, and no national, forces. Second, more equal and higher living standards. Third, political freedom and equality for all. Fourth, effective control of any potential internal aggressor and consolidation against any possible trouble-maker from outside.

(1) There is no room in Europe for a score or more of separate armed forces. They depress the social

What kind of New Order?

HITLER'S "New Order" for Europe has gone. But it is beginning to be realized that whatever its ulterior objects and the German methods in trying to impose it, it represented one form of an idea that must not be lost: the idea of a unified Europe.

In the above article Miss Josephy discusses a New Order for Europe which would foster this continental unity on the peaceful and co-operative lines suggested in the National Petition for a Constructive Peace: "the development within a wider co-operation of a closer unity between, and common services for, the peoples of Europe, as of other related areas."

BIG POWERS ABOVE THE LAW

In Dumbarton Oaks Plan

THE cat is now out of the bag in the matter of Dumbarton Oaks. In spite of the early reports that Russia had accepted the American proposal, it is now plain that the American proposal was adjusted to the Russian demand. Russia has not budged from her insistence on the Great Powers' right to veto any action against themselves. Thus the Dumbarton Oaks scheme is turned into a categorical assertion that the great Powers are above the law.

There is to be a law for the smaller fry—except for those of the smaller fry whom they take under their protection, or into their sphere of influence—but none for themselves. In the name of realism the Great Powers would inaugurate the new organization of world-peace by proclaiming it as a principle to be accepted by the smaller nations that the Great Powers must be acknowledged to be judges in their own cause.

"Short way to third world-war"

IT is not likely to go unchallenged, either in this country or at San Francisco. In a forcible letter to The Times (March 7) Sir William Beveridge says: "The Dumbarton Oaks proposals are stated to be based 'on the principle of the sovereign equality of all peace-loving States.' The agreement now announced from the Crimea makes 'sovereign equality' a phrase without sincerity. Not in the making of such phrases lies any hope for the world of escape from the recurrent torment of war." Elsewhere in his letter he says:

"Those who prefer realism to principle may be invited to realize that, under the proposed system of voting, a small Power in a dispute with one of the five Powers, however just its cause, is formally deprived of all hope of effective support by the world-organization for peace. The inevitable result of this will be that the small Powers must seek security in alliance with or dependence on one or other of the great Powers. That, with spheres of influence, balance of power, competitive armaments, and the rest of the old bag of tricks, is a short way to a third world-war."

Expediency becomes law

A GOOD many pacifists have stood aloof from the whole idea of collective security as one to which they are opposed in principle because it involves as its *ultima ratio* the instrumentality of war. I personally do not share this attitude. But I think that even those pacifists who reject the idea of collective security must be concerned at the nature of the proposals to be put forward—in the name of this country and USA—at the San Francisco conference. For they mark a deliberate moral retrogression.

It is one thing to acknowledge the fact that the attempt to enforce the judgment of a world-peace organization on a great Power means world-war; it is quite another thing to found a world-peace organization on the principle that great Powers are exempt from its jurisdiction—that they have the right to veto any action against themselves. *De facto* belongs to one order; *de jure* to another. It is plainly wrong to exalt *de facto* anarchy into *de jure* anarchy by a solemn international instrument.

Will they agree?

WILL the great Powers get away with it? I hope and believe not. Though the small Powers at San Francisco are somewhat hand-picked, they may well reject the proposals. The Dutch Government has already issued a dignified memorandum asking that the relations between nations under the Dumbarton Oaks scheme shall be governed by reference to some non-static principle of justice. ("Would not a reference to those feelings of right and wrong, those moral principles which live in every normal human heart, be enough?")

Considering that the small Powers invited to San Francisco do not include the two of the most independent and respected neutrals in the world, namely, Sweden and Switzerland, and the most powerful State in South America, namely, the Argentine, even if a majority—Haiti and Liberia counting as one each—were to be marshalled in favour of the proposals, it would not mean very much.

Renouncing justice

BUT why should the small Powers sanction the great Powers' formal establishment of themselves above the law? If they sanction it, they are signing away their birthright, and deliberately entering an organization which denies them any right to justice

(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)

Observer's Commentary

ON THE EDGE

PEACE News—one critical group informs me—is too gloomy: it should "show how pacifism can overcome the deadening influence of the war-situation." And how? By having "more humour, more cartoons, film, theatre and gardening columns—a woman's column, and simple lessons in Esperanto."

The late lamented Alfred Lester's song: "I've gotter—Mottter—Always merry and bright," begins to ring in my ears. I yearn to dissipate the deadening influence of the war-situation by the simple gaiety of our woman's column and our lessons in Esperanto. Let me, by way of experiment, try this advertisement from Monday's Times:

"Trained Nurse would Receive Patient in her home; no others taken; situated on cliff-edge."

Will everyone who doesn't think that funny send me 1s. and those who do 2s. 6d.? All those who are neutral can make it 5s.

Contributions since March 2: £30 1s. 1d. Total to date: £5,806 12s. 0d.

THE EDITOR

Foodless lunch gesture to hungry Europe

EXCEPT for white tablecloths and spring flowers, the lunch-time tables were bare in one of the rooms in the Waldorf Hotel, London, last Friday. Although they remained so, a good many Press representatives arrived in response to a "luncheon" invitation extended to them by Dame Sybil Thorndike, Mrs. Corbett Ashby, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Eve Rees, and Nora Wain.

An hour or so later they went away, still hungry but with plenty of "food for thought." For once the hackneyed phrase became very real: and the thought (and the conversation) was all about food. The empty tables were a reminder of the millions of "liberated" but desperately hungry people in Europe.

The hosts had deliberately invited the reporters to a foodless luncheon, both as a gesture to those hungry people, and as a way of helping to make more widely known the grim reality in Europe and the growing

readiness in Britain to do something about it.

"In the last few weeks," said Sybil

"Widespread concern"

Thorndike, "there has been evident a very deep and widespread concern in Parliament, in the Press and all through the country that we should be quite well fed while our friends in Europe are almost starving a few score miles away. But public leadership has been sadly wanting."

The readiness of the public for a lead was taken up and stressed by the other speakers.

Eve Rees, until very recently a school-teacher, told how a class of young children, living in far from well-off circumstances, had immediately responded to her description of the plight of French children by bringing money to buy food for them.

"We are pushing at an opening door," said Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, who said there was growing awareness of the situation in official circles and in Parliament.

Mrs. Corbett Ashby also testified to the willingness of ordinary women in Britain to respond to a call for sharing the food available, even if it meant going short of some things here.

Obstacle to generosity

Britain, said Nora Wain, was the land of the brave; but the Nazis were also brave. Was Britain to be worthy to be called the land of the free as well? In a free country one had the right to dispose of one's bread-and-butter as one wished. Yet, although she frequently received food parcels from friends in Canada and the USA who imagined she was starving, she was not allowed to send similar parcels to her own friends in France.

As the discussion went on, the reporters joining in with questions and suggestions that reflected a genuine interest, the bare tables no longer seemed odd. Had food been served it would have been an unwelcome and inappropriate distraction. Instead of being a token sacrifice, the occasion would have become just another ordinary luncheon-cum-Press-conference. In which case, in all probability, neither The Times, Manchester Guardian, News Chronicle, Daily Herald, Evening Standard, nor the BBC would have reported it as they did.

(Sybil Thorndike's speech is reported more fully on page 3.)

(In its 6 p.m. news-bulletin on Friday, the BBC reported the foodless luncheon immediately after a report of the Famine Relief Committee's appeal to UNRRA. We are asked to make it clear that the Famine Relief Committee was not associated with the luncheon.)



Sybil Thorndike speaking at the foodless luncheon.

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PEOPLE AND POWER

THE tragedy of war, says Arnold Toynbee in "A Study of History" is that those who make the war make the peace. The qualities of mind required for the two functions are different, and seldom, if ever, present in the same man. Perhaps Abraham Lincoln is the one conspicuous exception in modern times.

To break out of this vicious circle is the problem. If only the statesmen could put into practice the maxim of the first parent of modern military thinking, Clausewitz: that war is politics conducted by other means. Nominally, for certain, and perhaps in fact as well, this war—now apparently nearing its end—is being fought for one purpose only: to accomplish those political changes which are necessary to establish a period of peace and stability in the world. Granted there is room for vast disagreement as to what those political changes are, it would seem impossible that statesmen in 1945 could be so naive as to imagine that they are summed up in the destruction of Germany's "war-potential." The war-potential of a modern nation, in the epoch of total war, consists of all its industry. The major belligerent nations now are pure fighting machines. The destruction of Germany's war-potential must therefore consist either in the destruction of all its industry, or the abrogation of Germany's political independence.

The abrogation of Germany's political independence is by far the more reasonable aim of the two, in that it does not necessarily import the impoverishment of Europe as a whole. If the victorious nations were to begin to curtail their own political independence, at the same time, there would be much to be said for it. For the curtailment of the political independence of nations is the political change which is requisite if the world is to have a period of peace and stability.

Nevertheless, it is conceivable that the resolve to suspend the political independence of Germany might gradually effect a curtailment of the independence of the victorious Powers—on one condition. The condition is that the German people, as distinct from the German nation, are treated as equals of the people of the Allied nations. Max Weber, who was a devoted German patriot, wrote after the last war that perhaps the best thing that could happen to Germany was that it should become a British Crown Colony. That is inconceivable in the present constellation of power. But if Germany could be treated as the common responsibility of the Big Three for a period of years, the common concern might well create a common mind between them. But again we emphasize that the condition of that is a common determination to treat the German people as equals.

Human beings, we believe, can have the sense of equality without enjoying the same political rights. The Englishman and the Russian have very different political rights today; yet if reports are to be trusted they regard themselves as equals. The suspension of the political independence of Germany need not entail any enduring sense of humiliation. It involves no manifest injustice, nor any perceptible diminution in the political freedom now enjoyed by the average German. If only they are treated as human equals in the ordinary commerce of life, as equal citizens of Europe or the world, there is no obvious reason why they should not be reconciled to a period of tutelage.

But the United Nations, in that case, must be prepared immediately to take real and positive responsibility for Germany: to set the wheels of the German economy in motion, to make life possible for the Germans. The prevalence of any half-baked notion that the Germans may be left "to stew in their own juice" would be fatal. The aim must be to demonstrate to the German people that it is better to be conquered by the Allies than to be victorious under the Nazis. That is possible. It depends upon imagination and goodwill. But if the policy is to prolong the sufferings of the German people by way of "just retribution," then necessarily it will appear to them that political independence is the only escape from misery and humiliation and the rebirth of a violent nationalism will not be long delayed.

Not to speak of imagination, commonsense demands that the Allies should treat the German people conspicuously better, say, than the Germans treated the French. Unless they do, the claim that they represent a higher morality will be proved to the average German to be the humbug that Goebbels says it is.

Chicago Air Conference

Under the title "Chicago Commentary" the Council for World Airways (20 Buckingham St., W.C.2) has republished in pamphlet form (3d.) contributions by James Avery Joyce and Michael Young which appeared in recent issues of The Leader and Picture Post. The first records a conversation with the Australian Minister for Civil Aviation after the latter had attended the recent Chicago International Air Conference; the second gives the background of the conference and comments on its results.

Voluntary Service versus Conscription

THOUGH it may be accepted that, morally, one volunteer is equal to three impressed men, it in no way follows that, in fire-power, one musket is equal to three. Obviously then, so long as the output of muskets does not exceed the number of men willing to shoulder them, size for size, a voluntarily enlisted army is superior to a conscript one.

But, directly the number of muskets begins to exceed the number of volunteers, superiority is at once tilted in favour of conscription, and rapidly so when the musket is in question, because it is so simple a piece of mechanism that men of the meagrest intelligence can with ease be taught to handle it.

Enter mass-production

Until the advent of the Industrial Revolution, all firearms were expensive, and, therefore, their output was limited and in consequence armies remained small. But with the introduction of steam-power all was changed. Already, as early as 1772, we find Guibert in his "Essai général de tactique" dreaming of things to come. It was that European hegemony would fall to whichever nation first created a true national army.

Out of such-like dreams, for others followed, the pressure of military demand, more so than any other, hastened factory organization. With the result that by 1785, in France, muskets were being mass-produced with interchangeable parts. It is, therefore, no coincidence that, thirteen years later, General Jourdan and the Council of Five Hundred introduced conscription for all men between twenty and twenty-five years of age, and as my friend the late Colonel F. N. Maude wrote many years ago now: "No law on the statute book of any nation has exercised a more far-reaching influence on humanity." Alone it rendered Napoleon's policy of conquest possible, and his boast that "I can afford to expend 30,000 men a month," which he made to Metternich in 1805, has determined the course of history ever since.

THE voluntary system was doomed, not by the will of man, nor by his innate pugnacity, but by steam-power—the offspring of his intelligence, and one man at least clearly saw its consequence. It was Baron de Jomini, who, looking back on the Napoleonic conflict—throughout which he had served—predicted that war would become "a bloody and most unreasonable struggle between

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There are many men who, from age to age, have aroused the trust or love of their fellow-men to such a degree that they have succeeded in winning followers, in forming an independent party in politics or in religion. There are other men who through schemes and plans have succeeded in gathering together those who hold similar views on public questions and in leading them successfully to victory in some fight for principle or belief. But rare are the men who have won influence in the world and who have left their mark on it without making attempts to form a party or to plan a campaign. Morgan Llwyd belongs to this class. When he died he had neither church or party, but here and there throughout Wales, in the lowlands of Maelor, in the Valley of the Dee, in the remote glens of Merioneth and on the slopes of the Berwyns were many an honest countryman, and many a good woman who had understood his secret and had learnt his message. . . . They carried with them to distant lands the traits and traditions of their race—a sensitive spirit, a warm hearth and an altar, and they won for their descendants the boon of freedom. The work of Morgan Llwyd was not in vain. Did not the children of his disciples lay down the foundations of the great Democracy across the Atlantic?

—J. H. Davies, "Works of Morgan Llwyd" (1619-1659).

great masses equipped with weapons of unimaginable power."

"We might," he commented, "see again wars of peoples like those of the fourth century; we might be forced to live again through the centuries of the Huns, the Vandals, and the Tartars."

Though, as we now know, his fears were well founded, after the fall of Napoleon, the only country which maintained conscription on a full footing was Prussia. There it was accepted by General Karl von Clausewitz as the foundation of his theory of the nation in arms, according to which "war should be waged with the whole might of the national power." Nevertheless, like all other armies of that period, Prussia's was limited in size, not because muskets were lacking, but because, until the

Maj.-Gen. J. F. C. FULLER

wrote this article at our invitation. In it he discusses conscription, not in isolation, but as the result of the impact of technical progress on social organization for war. He concludes with his own estimate of the future outlook.

introduction of railways, means of transport set a limit to the numbers of men which could be supplied in the field.

With the railway, war entered its saurian stage, and it is no coincidence that the nation which had given birth to Clausewitz was the first to grasp its military values. Thus it came about that the genius of George Stephenson gave life to the Clausewitzian conception of the nation in arms, which henceforth grew and grew.

FROM 1866 onwards, mass-armies take the field. The long-service voluntarily enlisted army progressively gives way to the short-service conscript. Quality is ousted by quantity, and war becomes the affair of the "average man." Further, the larger armies grow the more dependent do they become on industry to equip, arm and supply them.

Thus the nation in arms demands also a nation of armourers, and war strides out towards its total goal. Women are conscripted as well as men, labour is conscripted, science is conscripted, industries are conscripted, until eventually the entire national life is marshalled in the cause of war, and not only does voluntary enlistment, but all voluntary activities cease.

Millions involved

A hundred years after Jomini's prediction, Oswald Spengler sat down and wrote:

"For this is a century of gigantic permanent armies, universal compulsory service . . . Ever since Napoleon, hundreds of thousands, and latterly millions of men have stood ready to march . . . It is a war without war, a war of overbidding in equipment and preparedness, a war of figures and tempo and technique, and the diplomatic dealings have not been of court with court, but of headquarters with headquarters."

These words were written nearly thirty years ago, since when military technique and tempo have been so intensified that the armies, navies and air forces of the last war are now completely obsolete; also is the industrial organization which maintained and supplied them.

The main changes have been in two

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directions: (1) towards an ever-increasing mechanization on land, at sea and in the air, and (2) towards the extension of compulsory service to all forms of war labour, as well as to the various civil defence services—ARP, NFS, Home Guard, etc. Thus has the simple nation in arms, as visualized by Clausewitz, evolved into the highly complex total war State—a one-eyed Cyclops.

Job for specialists

As regards the first of these changes, it is now becoming apparent that fighting power is rapidly passing out of what may be called its hand-tool into its machine-tool stage, as manufacture has steadily been doing for over a hundred years. More and more are fighting organizations becoming factories of lethal power rather than assemblies of fighting men, which means that, as weapons become more technical, also must the men who work them become more skilled. Therefore, intelligence, far more so than muscular strength, is required, and the consequence is that war as a whole is steadily becoming more and more a matter of the "special" instead of the "average" man.

Because of this tendency to seek perfection in quality, more so than in mere quantity or weight of weapon-power, a return—anyhow in peacetime—to the professional long-service army will in time become imperative. A medium-service army, such as our old regular army was, cannot possibly foot the bill, because it will never attract men of high intelligence; nor will a conscript army, because its two to three years' service is insufficient to produce the technical and tactical quality demanded.

Voluntary service is therefore the only possible basis upon which a professional long-service army can be recruited, and it requires that its rates of pay should, at the very least, be equivalent to the highest offered in the skilled labour market.

★ DOES this mean that compulsory service will eventually vanish? I doubt it, because it seems to me that the main social tendencies today are towards compulsion and regimentation, not only for purposes of war but also for purposes of peace. In other words, towards the establishment of the socialized or slave State, as predicted by Herbert Spencer over sixty years ago.

Therefore, the freer, more intelligent and more privileged the armed forces become, the more likely are they to grow into a governing aristocracy, and the more likely are all other classes of men to sink into a servile, regimented proletariat. In fact, a return will be made to the Feudal Order, of which M. Boissonnade in his "Life and Work in Mediaeval Europe" has said:

"In the name of the protection which they claimed to secure for the masses, the feudal classes chained men to the soil or to the workshops, claimed to regulate every sort of activity, divided the fruits of labour as they pleased, and weighed down the multitudes under the yoke of a capricious and tyrannical authority, though obliged to allow them a minimum of material advantages."

As the old feudalism was established by armoured knights, so does it seem that the new will be established by armoured machines. The sole marked difference between the two being, that in the one chivalry abounded, whereas, judging from the present war, in the other it will be unadulterated devilry.

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PLANNING AND DOING

PACIFISTS more than most others realize that one of the worst errors in our modern society is the breakdown in our community life. Nowhere is this breakdown more apparent than on the new housing estates which were created between the wars. PSU feels it has a very real contribution to make to the solution of this problem, and one of its units is working on one of these "problem estates" to which 5,000 people were transferred from slum-clearance areas.

Although built only ten years ago, this estate has no community centre, no cinema or church, and few shops. It is isolated—physically on three sides by railways and on the fourth by a cemetery—and socially by the fact that the more fortunate inhabitants of the surrounding neighbourhood will have nothing to do with the ex-slum-dwellers in the tenements of which the estate consists. With a total lack of provision for their social needs it is hardly surprising that a real community spirit has never developed.

"I RENOUNCE WAR AND I WILL NEVER SUPPORT OR SANCTION ANOTHER"

This pledge, signed by each member, is the basis of the Peace Pledge Union. Further information from: General Secretary, P.P.U., Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.

The Unit's task has been four-fold: first, to expose to the responsible authorities the errors of this kind of planning; second, to stimulate the local authorities to provide the desperately-needed social amenities; third, to work to build up a community life through the establishment of Youth Club, children's clubs, and a church, with the Community Association embracing them all; fourth, to live on the estate as a group of neighbours to be a centre of friendship and neighbourliness.

How far have these four aims been achieved? Through the Community Association a survey of the estate was made and the urgent need to provide social facilities for the people has been prominently brought to the notice of the planning authorities. National voluntary planning bodies have shown the keenest interest in the findings of this survey and it is hoped that these findings may do something to help others to avoid the more blatant errors of the past when the post-war housing estates were planned. The Unit's biggest single job was the founding and running of the Youth Club. Here future leaders are being trained and here in miniature the pattern of community life is being worked out. Now this experience is being repeated in the children's clubs, and through the Community Association other social groups are being encouraged to run on their own initiative. Because there has never been a church on the estate the need is great, so the Unit has been responsible for founding a United Free Church which should make a valuable contribution to the development of community life.

Much has been done, but the Unit is only at the beginning of what could well be a life's work. Its hope is to continue until the tenants themselves can build on the foundations of friendship which it is trying to lay.

We must be allowed to share with the hungry

— Sybil Thorndike

INTRODUCING the other hosts at the foodless luncheon which we report on our front page, Dame Sybil Thorndike said: "Of those who have asked you here today, two—Margery Corbett Ashby and Emmeline Pethick-Lawrence, are very well-known in public affairs and politics; one—Nora Waln—is a writer who has done a great work for international understanding; another—Eve Rees—is a schoolteacher in one of the poorer suburbs of London; and one—myself—an actor."

"We do not represent any sort of organization. What we have in common is a deep concern for the suffering of those in Europe who are sick and starving because of man-made shortages of food and clothing."

"In forgoing our lunch today, and inviting you to do so too," she continued, "we scarcely undergo any privation at all—we probably all had good breakfasts! And we certainly have not met together to give a public exhibition of virtue! We are trying by a simple gesture to show what we think Great Britain should now do to bring some further aid and comfort to those hungry people."

CHALLENGE TO OTHERS

Referring to the "very deep and widespread concern" in the country, and the lack of public leadership, Sybil Thorndike declared: "There has been no rallying-point to which we could all turn and say 'Yes! That's exactly what we feel. That is what we want to do.' Our gesture is an attempt to find that rallying-point. It is not us but what we do here today that is important."

"We want people to forget about us and think out their response to this action, this token sacrifice. With this gesture our work is done, our group dissolves. We stretch out a human hand in a human gesture. It does not matter whose hand; the meaning is all."

"I hope that everyone who hears about this foodless luncheon will see it as a simple challenge to their humanity. I hope they will feel an obligation to respond by registering somewhere, somehow, their agreement or disagreement with what we are pleading for. Will they not write to the Government, to Mr. Eden and Col. Llewellyn particularly, to Church leaders, MPs and the Press? Will they, perhaps, repeat our gesture in other towns so that the appeal comes before everyone?"

We in Britain were receiving about 2,500 calories each daily; we had reserve stocks of three or four million tons more than the peacetime food reserve for civilians. Yet we were still importing enormous quantities of foodstuffs and other civilian supplies from overseas. Shipping for our imports came from the shipping pool which controls all European merchant shipping, but on which ours was the only European government represented.

"What a tragic contrast is the picture of liberated Holland, Belgium and France," she went on. "Conditions vary greatly, but French cities such as Paris have little more than a half what we get daily; in Belgian cities the

Let the little ships help again

The following letter was sent to the Prime Minister on Friday last by the Women's International League:

"Remembering the response of small ship-owners to the appeal to help evacuate our men from Dunkirk, we suggest that a similar appeal to take food, etc., to France would help our ally and also reduce the sense of impotence experienced by an ever-growing section of British people, in face of the tragedy across the Channel—and would meet with immediate and wide response."

supply is said to be not much over 1,000 calories; and the free Dutch are in the same plight as the French. All these countries are begging for imports, and it is quite certain that port-capacity not needed by the military is available now to receive imports. Yet the French, the Belgians and the Dutch can get almost no shipping from the shipping pool.

"LET US SHARE"

"America could no doubt reduce imports and release some shipping. But we must do so too. Let us beg the Government to release some substantial part of the reserve stocks for immediate cross-Channel relief, and to cut down imports for the next month or two and so release ships for trans-Atlantic service under UNRRA."

"We want the Government to know that we are determined it must be done, even if there has to be some curtailment here for a while of the normal consumer's ration. Those who receive extra because they do exceptionally heavy work, mothers and children and the sick would not be asked to share sacrifices of this kind."

"We do not think the hardship would be very great. We think most people would bear it gladly. If not, then at least those who wish to do so must be allowed to share with the hungry. We believe it is only in this willingness to share, both now and in the future, that there is hope of lasting peace."

BAIL REFUSED TO ANARCHIST Because surety would not take oath

WHEN four leading members of Freedom Press, the anarchist publishing concern, were remanded for a week at Marylebone police-court on Friday last, charged with being in possession of documents the dissemination of which might cause disaffection in the Services, a curious situation arose in respect of bail.

Dr. John Hewetson, and Mr. and Mrs. Richards each had bail renewed in two sureties of £200 each, but Inspector Whitehead opposed bail for the fourth defendant, Philip Sansom. After discussion, the Magistrate, Mr. Ivan Snell, granted him bail in two sureties each of £500.

When a surety came forward, however, he asked to affirm instead of taking the oath. The Magistrate declined to accept this and withdrew the offer.

Mr. Anthony Hawke, prosecuting, called evidence to show that copies of War Commentary and of a certain circular letter were found at various military establishments.

The circular advised "comrades" to attend "lecture and discussion groups" which "may form the basis for future soldiers' councils" whose action "in a revolutionary situation" was "most important."

In an article called "People Under Arms" a subsequent issue of War Commentary described certain revolutionary potentialities, and added that "it is the duty of anarchists to urge the workers everywhere . . . to hold on to their arms. While the workers have weapons in their hands Governments are weak."

At the Freedom Press premises, said Mr. Hawke, 20 copies of the circular were found. A number of officers and men of the Pioneer Corps, the NCC, and the Royal Engineers gave evidence of kit inspections ordered by "higher authority" at which the literature in question was found.

Has the P.P.U. tailed?

Fifty delegates met in Cardiff on Feb. 24 for the second one-day conference of the PPU South-East Wales Region, when addresses were given on "The Future of the PPU" by Patrick Figgis, General Secretary, and the Rev. W. T. Pennar Davies, of Cardiff. The Vicar of Pontypridd was in the chair.

Mr. Pennar Davies criticized the Union, saying it had failed to fulfil its purpose, to stop war. The danger of procrastination, and of being satisfied with a long-term policy was stressed. Mr. Davies emphasized the urgency of the time-factor: if civilization was not saved immediately, there would be no civilization to save. We should apply the pacifist method now, and should translate the pacifist economy to life.

Mr. Figgis gave evidence of vital work done by the PPU in the past and of that which awaited it in the future. When doubting the vitality of the PPU, we should ask "Is it not we ourselves, as individuals, who are losing our vitality in these trying days?" There was no other organization to do the work which the PPU undertook—the binding together of pacifists of all shades of opinion, providing the means of fellowship for new pacifists, witnessing to the man-in-the-street, and making known to the Government the concern for peace.

At the evening session Patrick Figgis opened a discussion on: "In the interests of a constructive peace, should Germany be forgiven?" Mr. George M. Ll. Davies, who was also present, took part in the discussion.

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LAKES. Holiday accommodation wanted Apr. 6 to 12, pacifist couple. Offers or information, Box 867.

FOR SALE & WANTED

WAR RESISTERS' International would welcome gifts of foreign stamps, for subsequent sale on behalf of W.R.I. funds. Any such gifts received with gratitude. Please send to the War Resisters' International, 11 Abbey Rd., Enfield.

UNICORN BRAND Foot Paste is the safe and sure remedy for corns, hard skin and warts. It never fails. 7d. per box (inc. tax); 3 boxes post free 1s. 9d. Get it today. We repeat—it never fails. Barker's, Station Road, Sandiacre, Notts.

LAMB BRAND Typewriter Ribbons. 30s. dozen, 18s. 6d. six, 10s. three, 3s. 6d. each, all postage paid. Mention models, colours, P.N. Hardman's, 15 Prospect Place, Preston.

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C.O. WANTS watches, clocks, any condition. State price, cash by return. Vinall, "Chalet," Bishopstawton, Devon.

C.O. THRESHING - TACKLE. DRIVER requires a small motor-cycle cheap. No junk. Offers to Riches, 41 Drury Rd., Colchester.

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LITERATURE, etc.

BOOKS ON PSYCHOLOGY, philosophy, theology, mysticism, liturgy, politics, pacifism, fiction etc. No callers. Monthly lists 24d. stamp. Kingdom Books, 51 West Cromwell Rd., London, S.W.6.

NOVELS BOUGHT. Modern Novels or Book Club. 2s. each if in good condition. Also Penguins. Box 866.

QUAKERISM. Information and literature respecting the Faith and Practice of the Religious Society of Friends, free on application to the Friends' Home Service Committee, Friends' House, Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

"LEARN TO SPEAK" by Florence Surfield, 1s. 6d. (1s. 8d. post free), for use with groups or individually. Headley Brothers, 109 Kingsway, W.C.2.

INTERNATIONAL RIGHTS OF CONSCIENCE: new pamphlet by Douglas J. J. Owen. 4d. per copy from D. Owen, 6 Mount St., Manchester, 2.

"DEATH OF A BABY": "Homes for Heroes?"; "On a Dead Conscript" (Ronald Mallone); "Socialism is not enough" (Hoford Rendall); "Destruction and Construction" (Rev. H. J. Dale); "Lady Gibb and Ilya Ehrenburg" (Ruth Fry); "War Guilt"; "Censorship"; "Christian Representative Council"; "Christian Party News-Letter", 5d. (PN224), 30 Darby Rd., Oldbury.

MEETINGS, etc.

CONSTRUCTIVE PEACE WEEK: Grand dance, Art Workers' Guild Hall, Queen Square, W.C.1 (off Southampton Row), Wed., Mar. 21, 7-10.30 p.m. Tickets 2s. 6d. at door. Please come.

P.P.U. A.G.M. Apr. 28 and 29. Individual tickets 1s. Members should apply for tickets through group if in touch, otherwise to H.Q. giving name and address. Cash with application.

SOUTHERN AREA annual meeting, Mar. 24, 3 p.m., Friends' Meeting House, Bournemouth. Alex Wood, 6 p.m. Subject: "Peace and Persons."

"PENAL SERVITUDE". Speaker: Ernest Silverman. Chairman: Fenner Brockway. A P.M.R.C. free meeting at Friends House, Euston Rd., Sat., Mar. 24, at 2.30 p.m.

BRIGHTON. Friends' Meeting House, Mar. 24, 3 p.m. Roy Langridge (piano), Denis Hayes, Rev. Kenneth Rawlings, Clarence Tritton (convenor). Music, fellowship, discussion.

SOUTH YORKSHIRE Region P.P.U. Week-end school, Apr. 14 and 15, at Nightingale Homes, Great Hucklow, Derbyshire. Sat. tea to Sun. tea inclusive 10s. Speaker: Reginald Sorensen, M.P.

WEST LONDON Brains Trust: Labour Hall, Southall Broadway, Mar. 20, 7.30 p.m. Constance Braithwaite, Donald Port, Roy Walker and Howard Whitten. Question-master: Ken Woodroffe.

ROMFORD GROUP A.G.M. Tues., Apr. 3. Will members please make special effort to attend.

READERS IN Cheshire, North Wales, Merseyside, North Shropshire don't miss hearing Patrick Figgis on Sat., Mar. 24, 2.30 p.m., at Friends' Meeting House, Frodsham Street, Chester. Subject: "Can Peace Be Secured?" Tea afterwards 9d. If required, please notify Mrs. Rusbridge 51 Dee Banks, Chester.

"EDUCATION FOR the Post-War Order": Dr. Grayson Kefauver at Livingstone Hall, Westminster, Tues. day, Mar. 20, at 5.30 p.m.

"THE OUTLOOK for the Peace": John Parker, M.P., Kingsway Hall, Fri. Mar. 23, at 1.10 p.m. Admission free to both meetings. National Peace Council.

LIBERTARIAN DISCUSSION GROUP meeting Mar. 20, 7.15, Endsleigh Gdns., W.C.1. Subject: "Mutual Aid in our time." All welcome.

PERSONAL

CONTACT CORRESPONDENCE CLUB. A satisfactory medium for those desiring congenial pen-friendships. Particulars, stamp, 5p., PN 19 Ty Fry Gardens, Rumney, Cardiff. **YOU WILL FIND true friendship** in the L. and H.C. Correspondence Club. Send s.a.e. for particulars to Secretary, L. and H.C.C.C., 39 Reighton Rd., London, E.5.

SITUATIONS VACANT

We cannot confirm satisfactory conditions of employment in all posts advertised. Applicants in doubt are recommended to consult the Central Board for C.O.s, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1, which will often be able to give useful advice.

WANTED URGENTLY. General Help for Guest-House and for catering business on South Coast; full board and bed-sitting room provided; suitable for two friends. Write, stating wage and experience, Stephen Stones and Co. Ltd., Selsey.

LINOTYPE operator required by printers of Peace News. Trade Union house; good wages for the right man. Apply Clifford Printing Co., 12B Manor-road, London, N.16. (Phone STAMford Hill 2943.)

FULL - TIME shorthand - typist wanted immediately in office of International Fellowship of Reconciliation, 38 Gordon St., W.C.1. Knowledge of languages advantage. £4.

C.O. HELPERS wanted, male or female, old people's welfare. Pock money and maintenance basis. Stor Bower Fellowship, Burton-in-Lonsdale via Carnforth, Lancs.

COMPANION-HOUSEKEEPER required by business lady. Comfortable modern home. Middlesex. Box 868.

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C.O. LOOKING FOR progressive change in agricultural machinery world would like responsible position. Keen, energetic, and experienced with most modern farm machinery. Box 863.

C.O., AGE 34, married, seeks horticultural situation (food production) with cottage. Home Counties preferred. Skilled gardener, school or market. Box 869.

TYPEWRITING, DUPLICATING, mailing-service. Price list on application. Box 870.

C.O., 26, unconditional exemption, educated and adaptable, requires employment in Cambridge. Box 871.

LITERARY. Revision of articles for publication. Specimen for quotation. Box 872.

YOUNG MAN, 27, wants intelligent work, pref. institution. Matric. driver, responsible; teach/garden considered. All suggestions answered. BM/ARX, W.C.1.

C.O. WOULD WELCOME opportunity of helping on farm/garden of school, hostel, or similar progressive venture. Some experience. Wife (Froebel) might teach. Box 873.

YOUNG AUTHOR, graded 4, now pacifist, requires congenial position, preferably part-time, London or country. Four yrs. printing and publishing trade, some exp. retail book-keeping, literary agents work, 6 mths. social service, youth work. Study degree. Box 874.

MISCELLANEOUS

ALLYSOL—SEND stamps 5d. for two 20-page booklets of life-conserving information about garlic: (1) a herbal remedy with 5,000 years of history; (2) Rheumatism and Catarrh dissolved at their root. Allysol Company, Fairlight, Sussex.

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A New Order for Europe

(CONTINUED FROM PAGE 1)

standards and cultural development of their owners by causing money to be spent in building up armaments which might go towards improved conditions. They are useless if aggression takes place, as has been proved to their owners' bitter experience in this war.

So long as other States have their own forces, in the long run Germany will have to be allowed them too—will be, anyhow, when after the lapse of some years we decide the German is not such a bad chap after all. Common forces under a common command could be initiated to police Germany in the immediate post-war years and could become the European Defence Force of the future. It will need a central body to create and control it.

(2) So long as any country in Europe can gain control of the

Leyton Richards
will be next week's
writer in this series

economy of other countries, sending them aspirin and mouth-organs in exchange for food and oil, as Germany did with the Balkans, so long will the causes of war remain alive in that Continent. To raise the living standards of the poorer peoples it must be possible to do in Europe what was done in America by the Tennessee Valley Authority. A Danube Valley Authority would bring cheap power and higher productive capacity to the Balkans—and quickly pay for itself by the rising trade it produced—but to carry out such a scheme there must be a central organization which can control labour, investment, transport, and the allotment of raw material priorities.

(3) Large tracts of Germany are to become Polish. The Rhineland is to be a separate State, presumably for a time under French or international control. Part of North-west Germany may be given as compensation to Holland. Schleswig-Holstein may go to Denmark. Wholesale transfer of populations will create new problems even while it solves old ones. Alternatively, large German minorities within other States will be difficult to digest. The only answer is to turn national boundaries from strategic frontiers into cultural divisions, and by a Charter of Political and Economic Rights to guarantee equality of conditions of minorities

and majorities alike. But someone will have to be in a position to uphold such a Charter.

(4) The arms-producing areas of Europe are too dangerous to be in the hands of any single State. Such districts as the Ruhr and Silesia should be under permanent international control. If Europe is to be split in two down the north-south demarcation-of-occupation line in Germany—Europe's new Polish Corridor—sooner or later world war will result from Europe being pulled apart by the rival ideologies of the East and the West. Only the consolidation of Europe can prevent that.

★

HOW are common European forces to be created, European public works promoted, higher economic standards achieved, a Charter of Rights maintained, arms-producing areas controlled, and Europe consolidated? By external force or internal agreement?

The imposition of a Big Three New Order would be as distasteful to Europe as that of a Nazi New Order. As has been said, good government is no substitute for self-government. Europe must build her own New Order, and if it is to last it must be founded in the peoples and not in the governments.

An elected federal parliament could provide Europe with all she needs for stable peace—a Charter of Rights, common forces, common economic planning, common control of arms-producing areas, a framework for a regenerated Germany, and the consolidation essential to resist trouble from without. The Resistance Movements last summer demanded just such a federation to solve the problem of frontiers, to protect democratic institutions, to make economic reconstruction possible, and to enable the German people eventually to join the European community without being a danger to other peoples.

Through a federal parliament the States of Europe could have a joint voice in the control of world affairs. Through their common forces they could contribute jointly to world defence. As a unit within the World Organization they could at the same time assure their own peace and share in maintaining the peace of the world.

Dr. Barnes on the peace

The address given by Dr. E. W. Barnes, Bishop of Birmingham, at the Kingsway Hall, London, on Feb. 9, on "A Christian Approach to Peace"—reported in PN the following week—is now available in leaflet form from the National Peace Council, 144 Southampton Row, W.C.1, at 4s. per 100, post free.

'OBSERVER' CONTINUED

against the great Powers or their satellites.

All they can do, in that case, is to seek the protection of another great Power: just as men sought the protection of great nobles in the times of feudal anarchy. But they can do this without participating in the flummery of Dumbarton Oaks. Why should they perform the gesture of renouncing their right to justice? It would seem that they gain no additional security whatever by accepting the proposals, and lose their formal claim to justice.

The Dutch view

THAT is the main substance of the comment of the Dutch Government in its weighty memorandum. It expresses the point of view not only of one of the most highly civilized of smaller nations, but of all reasonable men, about the veto-power.

"The Netherlands Government believe that they understand the reasons and feelings which have led to the advancement of this claim, and they fully respect these motives. They also consider that it is the unassailable right of any country to state what conditions must be fulfilled if it is freely to enter into an association of nations. At the same time, the Netherlands Government think that they may state two things.

"The first is that, if the great Powers were given the right of veto in cases to which they are a party, the Dumbarton Oaks Plan would only be useful for promoting the orderly settlement of international disputes between smaller States, and even this only on a limited scale because of the right of veto of the great Powers. In cases of disputes between great Powers, or between a great Power and a smaller State, the Plan would afford no protection. Would this produce freedom from fear?

"And in the second place, the Netherlands Government think that they may be permitted to say this: it is the good right of any great Power to say that it will not enter into an association which gives authority to its members in certain circumstances to use force against that State. But it is difficult to see what advantage or attraction the Plan would have for the Netherlands if a right of veto were granted to great Powers in their own cause."

Pretence and reality

THIS may be "realism." But why dress up the formal acknowledgment of international anarchy in the trappings of a world-security organization? Why not be candid and limit the membership of the Security Council to those great Powers (if any such really exist) which are prepared to admit the right of the world-organization to be used against themselves if justice goes against them?

If that means that Russia declines to join the organization, what has been lost? The real situation would remain precisely what it is. World-peace would still be dependent on the agreement of the great Powers not to break it.

Whereas if the other great Powers consent, for the sake of including Russia, to withdraw their own willingness (if it really exists) to admit that they are amenable to justice, their own political morality suffers a retrogression. It is not required of great Powers, which are at least still groping towards the goal of law and order between the nations, formally to abandon their own ideals; or in order to bring Russia into a

TO LEAVE THE ARMY

Objector who was "forcibly taken abroad"

H. Lloyd Naylor, the young architectural student of Hull who was taken to France while refusing service in the Army on conscientious grounds, appeared before the Northern Division of the Advisory Tribunal on Feb. 15 and has now learnt that he is to be discharged from the Forces with a recommendation to coal-mining.

Lloyd Naylor claims that he was forcibly placed on a landing craft by military police and that while in France he was forcibly dressed in uniform.

Following pressure from the Central Board for COs he was brought back to this country and on Dec. 7 was sentenced by court-martial to 93 days' imprisonment. Lloyd Naylor had previously been given 56 days' detention when court-martialled for refusing Army orders.

Two new P.P.U. groups

"Generally speaking, pacifists throughout the country are feeling that new opportunities are being opened," said Dr. Alex Wood, PPU chairman, speaking at the initial meeting of the new Ely PPU group on Mar. 4. (Secretary: Jim O'Hare, 45 Cambridge Rd., Ely.)

"Pacifists have had great difficulty to hold out against the pressures and disappointments of the war," went on Dr. Wood, "but we are all feeling that this is a propitious time to build up an organization which will canalize the reaction towards peace that will inevitably follow the end of the war."

The Ely meeting was held at the end of a week of visits which Frank Sayer and Donald Port had been making to East Anglian towns and villages and which also resulted in the formation of a group at Great Yarmouth. (Secretary: Harry Miller, 3 Camperdown, Great Yarmouth.) Other places visited were Aldeley, Felixstowe, Stowmarket and Colchester, where something was done to consolidate the tremendous amount of contact work which Frank Sayer had already undertaken.

LETTERS

Mixed marriages

WE wish to express our dissent from the views contained in your leading article of Mar. 2, headed "Advice to a Soldier." We have read the Senior Forces Chaplain's defence of his action in the Daily Mail of Mar. 1 and are convinced that he acted in an entirely proper manner and in the best interests of the parties concerned.

We have had experience of a good many mixed marriages among our friends and acquaintances. Some of them have been successful; others have broken down completely, and those most hastily made have tended most readily to break down. Further, having travelled abroad a good deal we appreciate fully the difficulties of adjustment from the conditions (physical and social) of one country to those of another. While having, of course, no objection to international marriages on principle, we should certainly feel it our duty in like case to warn an inexperienced young man or woman of the difficulties that might ensue.

Nor is the religious issue one that can be treated lightly. Even though one partner may be only nominally an adherent of any religious denomination, the monopolistic claims of the Catholic Church over the children through its hold on the other partner may well cause trouble and indeed frequently does so in the case of mixed marriages of the same nationality.

HAROLD AND ELIZABETH BING
Brockweir.

I am always very pleased to hear of Englishmen taking foreign women to wife and vice versa. This is one of the surest ways to world peace.

N.P.C. meetings

As Mr. Hugh Redwood was unable to attend, last Friday's lunch-hour address in the National Peace Council's series at the Kingsway Hall, London, was given by Mr. Kingsley Martin. There will be no meeting in the series today (Mar. 16).

The final meeting will be held next Friday, when Mr. John Parker, MP, Secretary of the Fabian Society, will speak on "The Outlook for the Peace," probably making some special references to Soviet policy and his recent visit to the Soviet Union.

Dr. Grayson Kefauver, Adviser to the Cultural Relations Division of the US State Department, will speak on "Education for the Post-War Order" at 5.30 p.m. next Tuesday (Mar. 20) in the series of lectures arranged by the NPC at the Livingstone Hall, Westminster.

Peace News pamphlet

The Peace News pamphlet for March, to be published next week, will be "Non-Violence Goes Latin," by Devere Allen, editor of World-over Press, with an introduction by Howard Whitten. It tells in greater detail than is available in any other British publication the story of last year's peaceful revolts in the Central American republics of El Salvador and Guatemala.

The price will be 1d. (9d. per dozen). Distributors should send immediately any alteration to their standing orders for Peace News pamphlets.

Conference on compulsion

A conference on "Compulsion," organized by the PPU Development Committee, will be held at Dalston Hall, Carlisle, from tea-time on Saturday, Mar. 24, until lunch-time on Sunday, Mar. 25. The speakers will be Stanley Farrar and John Hoyland, who will deal with compulsion in national and international life respectively; Roy Walker will be chairman.

The inclusive charge will be 15s.; a pooled fares arrangement will operate. Applications should be sent to Tom Bowman, Fowey House, Carleton, Carlisle, immediately.

peace. War: Office orders may come and go but human nature will have its way.

I thank God there is so little hate among the common people on both sides as to make these marriages possible. Most of the hate in war is confined in the minds of men who have never seen a battlefield—newspaper writers, radio commentators, politicians and the rest of this daring band of armchair soldiers!

F. W. READ

2 Harewood View, Pontefract, Yorks.

Big and Little-Enders

The small actions of our daily lives and our joint corporate action to obtain justice in the larger field of politics and economics are complementary. George L. Davies suggests that they are at least destructive of each other and one must decide one or the other but not both. With all that he says positively I am in agreement, but when he puts Little-Enders in opposition to Big-Enders he takes his text right out of its context, taking sides in war where there should be co-operation. Had he taken for his text, "Where you are—What you can" this error might have been avoided.

Disappointment in achievement is not confined to those who work in the limelight of publicity, nor are the selfish ambitions that mar so much of their work and lives their special possession. To all comes the temptation to be weary in well-doing, and the projection of "self" spoils our best efforts irrespective of the "End" at which we are working.

My early morning cup of tea is made possible by the lives of men I can never hope to see. My concern for them must be by means which by implication make me a Big-Enders. I am also a Little-Enders, and what I achieve is not the more perfect if I hold to the one and despise the other, but both are complementary.

HENRY HILDITCH

The Grange, Wythall, Birmingham.

Response to an appeal

I have received an encouraging response during the last few weeks to the appeal at the close of my article recently published in Peace News—"Are you pulling your weight?"

There must, however, be many others who thought of writing to me who have not yet done so. May I encourage them to write, and without delay?

Every promise of help, however small, is worth making.

PATRICK FIGGIS

Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh St., W.C.1.

Growth of the Bruderhof

There has been a steady growth in our community at the Wheatthill Bruderhof in recent years. New people are continually joining, so that our present numbers are 90, including 32 children.

The picture of a village community with farm, workshops, school, and nursery is becoming increasingly visible. Our educational and social work is growing, whereby all needy and seeking people, without distinction, receive a welcome.

Our Brotherhood is being given the opportunity of acquiring another 195 acres, bordering on its present farm of 350 acres. This possibility has come just at a time when the question of accommodation is very acute. In the belief that this opportunity is God-given, that still more people will join in the life of the community, that the task of the Brotherhood in relation to the great need of the world will be extended, we are endeavouring to purchase this new farm.

We wish urgently to appeal to all your readers who value the witness of this life, to help support this step forward. We need particularly loans and gifts to help us make this purchase, but any form of help would be much appreciated. In any case we should be pleased to hear from your readers and will gladly send further details, including general information about our life, its work and witness.

For the Society of Brothers,

CHARLES HEADLAND
Bromdon Farm, Burwarth, Bridgnorth, Shropshire.

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